892 ly. For this reason the number of schools is very large. In Tashkent there are such schools in most of the 149 quarters into which the Sart town is divided. In 1879 Tashkent claimed to have 119 elementary schools, not counting those schools built by the Russians.

874 The Central Asian higher schools or medreses have only a distant similarity to our universities; they would be more comparable to the clerical seminaries in many Catholic countries for the education of theologians. They are boarding schools where teachers and students live together and are fully supported at the expense of the institution. The medreses receive no support from the state but are supported exclusively from the incomes of the wakf foundations, established by the founders of the medrese in question.

346 The medrese buildings (Figure 78, p. 57a, p. 221, Figure 79, p. 58a, and Figure 80, p. 58b, p. 224) are all built in the same style. They are as a rule two-storied (1) edifices of firebricks with a quadrangular /223/ /Figure 79.

1. Here and elsewhere I use the expression two-storied in the Russian sense of the term, while a house consisting only of a ground-floor is designated as one-storied, for I consider the Russian expressions more correct and practical than those used in most parts of Germany.

Caption: The Great Medrese in Bukhara (after a photograph by G. Merzbacher)./ /224/ groundplan. Inside there is a roomy courtyard, usually paved with firebricks, which is enclosed on all sides by the dwellings of students and scholars. Stables, kitchens and other offices are not found in these institutions. One reaches the courtyard through a gate in the middle of the main facade which is covered by a disproportionately high archway. The living quarters consist of two superimposed rows of cells, which are all of the same size. Before each cell there is a high niche-like entrance-hall which is open at the front. The cells are relatively dark, since they are lighted only by a single window placed over the door, which consists of a wooden grating pasted over with thin paper. /Figure 80, p. 58b. Caption: The Omar Medrese in Kokand./ The teachers and students remain in their cells mostly only at night and during the cold season of the year, but carry on their studies during the warmer weather in the open entrance-halls. The cells are not heated. The entire furnishing of the cells, for scholars and students alike, consists of a reed mat, a few blankets and pillows, which lie rolled up in

a corner during the day, and are simply spread out on the floor at night; also of a candlestick or an oil lamp, a brass washbowl and water pitcher, and finally, also of a few books, which the resident of the room is studying just at the moment. /225/ Each of the scholars usually has a cell to himself, while the students on the other hand live two to a cell. At the medrese there is also, as a rule, a mosque for the religious needs of those belonging to the medrese. 346

The business affairs of every medrese are administered by a mut- 874
eval, who, has charge of the management and utilization of the property which has been given to the medrese, the lands, caravansaries, mills, etc., and also the salaries and stipends paid to the teachers and students, as we have said above.

/Figure 81. Caption: Yunus Hodja, Mullah of Tashkent. (After a photograph by G. Merzbacher./

The number of teachers and students in a medrese naturally depends on its income, and for this reason it is restricted for each medrese. In Tashkent the largest and richest is the Beklyar Beg medrese, which supports about 250 students.

Thanks to the undemanding and simple way of life of the natives, the costs of maintenance of a medrese are, by our standards, extremely low, and many European professors receive a higher salary than the whole college of professors and the collective student body of a higher school of the first rank in Turkestan taken together. For this reason the number of medreses is relatively large, the town of Tashkent alone is counted to have seventeen altogether, of which six are distinguished for their wealth and large number of students. Some of these medreses have existed for four or five hundred years. The greateset number of higher schools are in Bukhara, the Rome of the Central Asian Moslems.

The teachers at the medreses are extremely respectable men and honestly deserve the veneration accorded them by the population. They 875
have renounced all the pleasures of the world and live only for knowledge. My former teacher Lamont, formerly Director of the Munich Observatory, was by disposition and way of life the true image of a medrese professor in Turkestan. The latter /226/ receive no honorarium from their students and are entirely dependent upon the modest means granted them by the medrese, which is only enough to provide the simplest food and clothing for themselves. The medrese teachers are mullahs who in most cases have finished their studies at the same medrese. They spend all their time either on their own studies or in the instruction of their students. Outwardly they are distinguished by their very dignified appear-

875 ance, their simple but exceptionally clean clothing and the colossal proportions of their blinding white turbans, made of Indian gauze material. (Figure 81, p. 225).

874 Admission as a medrese student, is available to everyone, without regard to birth or nationality, who is of the Moslem faith, and has received the necessary preparation in the elementary schools, to the extent that facilities are adequate. The students of the higher schools in Turkestan show themselves to great advantage in comparison with their European fellow-students by their retiring and undemanding life, through which they strive to emulate their teachers, and by their great modesty in social relations. They have not the faintest notion of students' associations, drinking bouts, duels, nocturnal rows and fights with the police. They dress exactly like their teachers, except that their turbans, in keeping with their lesser learning are of smaller proportions than those of their teachers, who are so full of wisdom. The scholarly work of the medrese students occupies almost the entire day; on the other hand their vacations are meted out very stingily and are reduced, as in the lower schools, to a week during each of the three high Moslem festivals.

There are no real courses in the Central Asian higher schools, just as there is nothing like our doctoral degrees, state examinations and state competitions. The students have only a specified number of books to study from thirty to one hundred and forty, depending on the circumstances, and after they have finished them they may claim the title of mullah. The more books a man has studied the greater is his esteem as a scholar, and the better his claim to the highest spiritual and judicial honors.

The languages taught in the medreses of Turkestan, are, in addition to Turkish, Persian and Arabic. Persian is the language of the educated and of the diplomats among the natives of Turkestan, as is French in Europe. Arabic, however, being the language of the Koran, plays the same role among them as Hebrew among our theologians.

The entire curriculum in the Central Asian higher schools is limited primarily to the interpretation of the Koran and the study of the writings of the most eminent Koran interpreters and Moslem teachers of law, and stands even today on just about the same level as it did at the time of the introduction of Islam to Turkestan. Only as much of natural sciences is /227/ tolerated as was already known a thousand years ago by Moslem scholars; all the more recent advances in

astronomy, physics, medicine, chemistry, geography, etc., are absolutely ignored. The supreme principle is still that axiom imputed to the Caliph Omar, that the content of all more recent books is either in the Koran already, and therefore superfluous, or else it is not in the Koran, and is consequently heretical. 874

The period of study at the medrese varies greatly, according to the abilities of the individual students and the greater or lesser degree of learning which each wishes to attain, and amounts to from fifteen to thirty years. Usually a student remains in the medresse until he is appointed as professor, judge, imam and the like, and in case he loses his position he returns there once more.

The teaching methods of the medrese professors have much in common with the methods adopted by many of our philologists who analyze the ancient classics. They discuss the works they are going through with their students both as to language and substance with a a thoroughness in no way inferior to the hair-splitting of such philologists, so that they often take a whole year to expound a single work. If such a pedant succeeds in interpreting a completely meaningless passage in the Koran in a new way, a passage which has been expounded before in a hundred different ways, then he is a made man, and he will be admired by his students and colleagues just as much as we would admire the discoverer of the law of gravitation or of the cholera bacillus, etc. Students and scholars in such a case come from great distances to gaze in astonishment at such a light of the church, and whenever possible, to take instruction from him. At most, one can only deplore the fact that so much time and labor and so much sincere effort is employed with so little profit upon the eternal repetition of deeds of eras and generations long past, through which mankind and science have not been advanced one single step. 876

Among all the scholarly schools of Central Asia the medreses of the town of Bukhara enjoy the greatest esteem, and the most celebrated leaders of Moslem scholarship are numbered among their teachers. 873

In addition to the medreses, which have in view the general education and training of scholars, there are in Tashkent and also in other towns of Turkestan various other special schools, which are established for specific purposes; thus there is the Karikh Khana medrese, in which the students are solely engaged in memorizing the Koran; the Salivat Khana medrese, where only prayers are taught; the Masnavi Khana medrese, in which the works of the writer Masnavi are studied, and the like.

5; Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RL| Turkestan RL|

as an important second (but "foreign") language; passing a Russian language examination seems to be a graduation prerequisite for all high-school students, regardless of nationality. Every graduate of a Soviet high school is thus expected to possess a knowledge of Russian. Whether or not this knowledge actually exists probably depends more on what the student does after graduation than upon the intensity or quality of his training. For the average Muslim girl who marries a Muslim and then raises a family, her high-school Russian language instruction is wasted, for at home she speaks her native tongue and soon forgets all she has learned; the same is probably true of the Muslim youth who returns to the village after his studies. For the more enterprising wage earner, however, the Russian training is of greater and more lasting importance: it represents the key to all further academic or professional advancement, as well as to membership in the vast party and state apparatus, which comprise and circumscribe a "career" in Soviet society.[7]

At one time the Communists made serious attempts in the direction of founding university-level training in the native languages, but these endeavors were not very successful, in part because of the shortage of qualified native teaching personnel and in part as a result of the general trend in the direction of Russification. Today most of the university-level instruction, except that which by its very content requires the use of local languages (Central Asian archeology, anthropology, philology, folklore, etc.), appears to be conducted in Russian.

A young Muslim, in order to succeed in life, must learn Russian and learn it well. Among the Muslim intelligentsia, therefore, a knowledge of Russian is widespread. But — and this is essential for the present inquiry — by acquiring a knowledge of Russian the local Muslims do not, as is apparently anticipated by the regime, lose command of their own language; instead, they become bilingual. Russian is the language of business, and the means through which it is possible to establish some contact with the culture of the outside world; it is not the language of daily life, in use at home, in the family, and among friends. The refugee informants were unanimous in asserting that neither they nor their friends, even those active in the Party, ever spoke Russian elsewhere than at work. They were equally firm in maintaining that they knew no Muslims who had lost command of their native speech. This assertion is reinforced by the observation that the Muslim refugees in Germany do not communicate

[7] According to the *Central Asian Review*, admission to the State University of Turkmenia and the Turkmen Academy of Sciences is "dependent upon students passing an examination in Russian and Russian literature." On the other hand, "Russian students at the Academy of Sciences are only required to have a knowledge of the Turkmen language if they intend to make a special study of Turkmen language and literature." There is no reason to suppose that the pattern is different in the other republics of Central Asia. *Central Asian Review*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1953), pp. 65–66.